

## IN IOWA.

## Letter of Acceptance of a Candidate on State Ticket.

## WORK TO LIVE.

**Republican and Democratic Cures Examined and Found Wanting—The Commodity Labor Bound to Go Down in Price While the Purchaser is the Capitalist Class—Exchange of Services by Co-operation the Only Way to Untie the Knot—And the Means Thereto is None Other than the Socialist Labor Party, the Party of the Proletariat.**

DES MOINES, Ia., Aug. 16th.

Dr. A. Rindler.  
Secretary of the State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Iowa.

Dear Comrade—Your letter of the 12th inst. with the notice that I was honored by the State Convention of the S. L. P. when at Davenport on the 7th inst. with the nomination for Lieutenant Governor of Iowa is duly received.

Let me say a few words in regard to the political situation of Iowa. There never was more urgent need for a sound workingmen's party, such as the Socialist Labor Party of Iowa is, in glancing over the political arena of our great State we find corruption on every hand. The two great political parties, as they are called, Democratic and Republican, are making preparations for an active campaign to be waged this coming fall. The amount of money that will be spent during the campaign and the eloquence that will be wasted on either side, would be almost sufficient to meet the expenditure of our State government for one year.

And to what purpose? It is simply this, to turn one set of experienced boodlers out and to let another set of unexperienced boodlers in. Both parties propose to cure the disease through different remedies. The Republican party offers as a cue the single gold standard. The yellow metal might be good enough to help the eyesight, but it certainly cannot help the workingman who is out of employment, because he has produced three times as many commodities as he has been paid for. The glittering gold in the banks cannot help the workingman to empty the tank (the market) which he has helped to fill through the aid of machinery. The Democratic cure is more complicated; they offer us both metals and tell us workingmen that through the use of both metals we can entirely cure our disease and make the workingmen happy. A moment's reflection is necessary. If through the use of both metals we can cure our ailments, it is then worthy of consideration and it should require an intelligent investigation of every voter in the State of Iowa.

Certainly through the free use of both metals at the mint of 16 to 1 prices would go up and all commodities or necessities would rise in price, and as labor is a commodity so labor would go up, too. So they tell us, of course. A little investigation from a scientific standpoint brings out the truth that the above statement won't hold water.

Raising prices would only benefit the owner of commodities of merchandise, etc., and the workingmen who have nothing to sell but their labor power (and they number nearly 60 per cent. of the population) cannot be benefited by rising prices. To illustrate: As a rule any other commodity outside of muscle you can withhold from immediate sale on the market; that is, if you know that prices of every other commodity are tending to rise in the near future, you can store it away, and await the time when you can dispose of it at your expected price. But the workingman who has nothing but his labor power, cannot withhold his commodity from the market a single day. If he does, starvation is his prospect. He must sell his commodity at once, and as the market, since the age of machinery began, has always been overcrowded, so the man who consumes the labor power will not be hasty until he finds out the lowest possible market price, and that is barely a subsistence for the working-man.

Once the product of the workingmen is in the possession of the employer, he can take the advantage and sell it at a rising price. So we can plainly see that the workingman under free coinage of silver has got to sell to the bidder, that is, sell his labor power at the lowest market price and consume it in return at the speculative market value. The Socialist Labor Party is the only party in the State, also in the nation, that offers the true remedy for the disease of which mankind is suffering throughout the civilized world. Its offer is the abolishing of the present system of individual production and distribution so that the toilers can get the full product of their labor. So that they may sell their labor for equal value of another man's labor of the same length of time and he can buy any other man's labor at a non-speculative price. To put it in plain English, when the workingman gets almost the full value of his labor he can exchange it in return for almost the full value of some one else's labor. Production and consumption would be equally balanced, the surplus on the market would not be great and the employment of labor more permanent and prices steady. Only then and not until then will the workingmen realize the full benefit of their toil. In studying the different aims and tactics of the present political parties I have come to the conclusion that the Socialist Labor Party is the only party where the workingman can work out his own sal-

vation by voting the Socialist Labor Party ticket into power.

I gladly accept the honor which you have bestowed upon me with the nomination for the second highest office in the State, and I will do all in my power to spread and agitate the principle of Socialism through the abolishing of the present competitive system by substituting the co-operative commonwealth where every man who will labor shall enjoy the fruits of his labor, and those who can and won't shall be treated in the language of St. Paul, "The man that does not labor neither shall he eat."

M. S. HIRSCHFIELD.

## OKLAHOMA IN LINE.

**Formation of the First Socialist Labor Party Section and Address by the Same.**

MEDFORD, O. T., Saturday, Aug. 28.—A meeting was held at the residence of O. M. Howard this p. m. for the purpose of organizing a Section of the Socialist Labor party. O. M. Howard was chosen chairman and G. G. Halbrook as secretary. The platform and constitution were read by the secretary and the aims and objects of the organization explained by the chairman. After enrollment of names—twelve in number—O. M. Howard was elected organizer, and the election of permanent officers deferred until next meeting, which was set for Saturday, September 11. On motion the organizer was instructed to issue address and declaration of Section Medford, as follows:

## ADDRESS.

Conscious of the terrible condition into which the people of earth have drifted because of the prevailing social system, and being fully convinced that the condition of the masses must continue to grow ever worse under the competitive and capitalistic form of production, we, the charter members of Section Medford, declare ourselves in favor of and now ready for a better form of government—the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth.

Desirous of rendering the greatest aid in our power to the accomplishment of the ends sought, and having determined that all so-called reform movements are at best only palliatives, we unequivocally declare our faith in the principles and organization of the Socialist Labor party of America, and link our fortunes, energies and efforts, weak though they may be, thereto, with high hope that Socialism may prevail in our day, and a firm determination to demand and help secure even and exact justice to all.

We endorse and adopt the platform of principles and demands of the Socialist Labor party of America entire, and send greetings to our Comrades in the cause throughout the universe, assuring them that the fair Territory of Oklahoma will be represented in that grand procession which is steadily marching toward a more humane and just economic system and a grander era, with banner held aloft proclaiming our faith in the ultimate success of universal and ideal Socialism.

## IN CALIFORNIA.

**Interesting Items on the Movement.**

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Aug. 23d.—I now take occasion to tell the Comrades in the East through THE PEOPLE how we are getting along with our street meetings here in San Francisco, and show them that the "gold craze," that just now is epidemic here, has not swept us off our feet. We have had since the last week in April of this year up to date, not less than ninety-two street meetings conducted by the undersigned under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee of Section San Francisco, S. L. P. From two hundred to a thousand people have attended the meetings, and great interest is taken in what the speakers have got to say, and when some poor deluded fool cries out, "Go to work!" as often happens, it is hard to prevent the crowd from taking a hard-handed interest in him. The poor fools do not know anything better than WORK, and like a parrot cry it out on every occasion. The comrades have seen through our national organ an account of that egg party we had here not long ago. Well, it's a new way to do politics: lots of trouble to first buy the eggs, and then to let them ripen. Of course, that may boom the egg industry in this State. I wonder how many eggs our opponents think it is necessary to procure to carry the State? The Socialists here think more of their good solid literature than eggs, no matter how ripe, and the people at large seem to do the same. We have at the street meetings held this summer sold 458 copies of Merrie England, and other books, besides THE PEOPLE and the "New Charter," and for free distribution we have used up to date about 5,000 leaflets and manifestos.

A policeman the other night said that he would arrest "the whole Socialist gang," as he expressed himself, if they did not "make so damn much fuss about it." He was not explicit as to whether he meant the public or the Socialists, and he decided not to give us any free advertising.

GUS BRAUN,  
Assistant City Organizer,  
Section San Francisco, S. L. P.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## "THE CONVENTION."

**Report of the St. Louis Spectacle of last Aug. 29.**

**As Many Views as Delegates—Revolution and Conservatism at Once—Not One Clear Head—Every One Either Dodger or Prates, or Poses, or Schemers—Mayor and other Officers Exposed to Public Scorn.**

BRIGHTON, Ill., Sept. 3.—I have just returned from the strangest convention the world has ever seen. Just what convention it was I am unable to tell. It was so strange it never had a name. Some called it by one name and some by another; it was generally spoken of as "the convention." I don't know whether I will be able to make myself understood what convention I have reference to. I don't like to be personal and call any bad names, but I know no other way of making myself understood than by describing it as that conglomerated mass of labor fakirs, reform fakirs, labor skinners (farmers), single taxers, etc., who lately met in St. Louis. This is not a definite description of what I have reference to, as the convention was divided into as many different opinions on each subject presented as there were delegates. Probably the "Bill Posters" wall of Debs, Ratchford, Sovereign, et al., would be explicit. Or the "Debs, Ratchford, Sovereign Blunderbus" might be better. If you still fail to understand me, it is not my fault, but the fault of "the convention." At least you are no more stupid than the delegates in this respect, every one of whom failed to understand what it was convened for, and unable to tell what they had accomplished.

In the convention Ratchford proved himself to be most wonderful piece of anatomy. He was both revolutionary and conservative. His one hobby that he brought to the convention was the suppression of the injunction. To suppress the injunction would be to suppress the courts, and to suppress the courts would be to suppress the constitution. And what could be more revolutionary than to suppress the constitution? And still several times he distinctly wanted it understood that he was conservative.

Sovereign merely repeated a few platitudes; his principal one was, "Fair sick and tired of resolutions." His role consisted in affecting great earnestness.

But Debs was the lion of the day. If he has any grand principles for the salvation of the workingman it is not likely he will ever have another such opportunity to present them to the world. But did he present any such principles? No. It is true he said he was a Socialist, but never for one moment stopped to tell what Socialism is. It would seem if he was really a Socialist, he would have taken advantage of this extraordinary occasion to expound its principles. But instead he merely aired his empty oratory. I now feel convinced that he is a scheming demagogue, and thinks a few flowery sentences will entrap more people than scientific demonstrations. Indeed, I do not think he has the intelligence to grasp the deep and broad principles of Socialism. He does not care to trouble himself with them. It is true that the platform of the Social Democracy is taken from a part of the Socialist Labor party platform, and the most vital part of our platform, the class struggle, was thrown into the waste basket. To run the Social Democracy on the lines of class consciousness would give no chance for fakes and boodlers.

In his speech Debs said he would countenance an uprising of the people at the next convention, to be held in Chicago September 27. He was silent as to what the people would do after an uprising except to suppress injunctions. If you expunge from his speech the sentence "I am a Socialist," you would then have a speech that would turn a Populist or sixteen-to-one audience wild with joy.

Only one delegate seemed to have any future aim, and that was where he said "the big capitalist was not the greatest enemy of the toilers; it was the little

capitalists or middle class.

When the fakirs can have no more hide from the strikers, they turn their attention to paring those not yet on a strike. It would seem the toilers are too fat in wealth to run an industrial race with the capitalist, and instead of adding some burden or responsibility to the capitalist, they propose to slice off some of the hide of the toilers themselves. The way they propose to do the slicing is for the workingman who has a job to lessen his store of wealth by donating his wages of every Good Friday to the striking miners. This was one of the resolutions passed at the convention. It would further seem that after a certain number of good Fridays, he will be relieved of his superfluous wealth, and then be able to run the industrial race with the capitalist. The sole business of the capitalist is skinning the toilers when at work, but if nothing impedes the course of the fakirs, the capitalist will soon have nothing to skin.

A nice spectacle in this age, 1897 in the year of our Lord, when the fakirs can no longer skin their fellow craftsman, instead of turning his batteries on the capitalist, he stealthily takes the last bit of hide from the toiler who happens to be in the skinning vat. Henceforth when I pray, I will supplicate in the primitive style of the darkie, thusly: "Oh, Lord, deliver us from capitalism; if you have but one gatting gun we implore you to first turn it on the labor and reform fakirs."

C. R. DAVIS.

## ON THE BREACH.

**The Socialist Alderman Maguire at Work in Paterson.**

**The Capitalistic Management of the City Branded as an Intrigue and the Trick of a Creditor Dodging Bankrupt—Mayor and other Officers Exposed to Public Scorn.**

Now, Mr. President, allow me to consider once more, but very briefly, the important questions at issue; questions that no amount of political bossism on one side, and evasion, procrastination, transversation or financial makeshift on the other side, can either settle or keep dormant.

A tax ordinance was first passed by this body and vetoed by the Mayor. I replied at length to that veto. Not one of the facts which I then brought out was disputed; not one of my arguments was controverted. The false plea of the Mayor for "economy," so-called, the fact that he desired only to "economize" the unearned dollars of the wealthy and to increase the debt of the city for the benefit of the Shylocks and monopolists who are sucking dry all its natural sources of income; the further fact that he was not only upholding but prompting the assessors in their preposterous attitude and perverse course; all this and more became so plain that no attempt was made to deny it.

Yes, in a spirit of conciliation that the Mayor did not intend to reciprocate, this Board, while rejecting all his plutocratic suggestions of false economy and substantially maintaining the position I had taken concerning the assessment of property and the mode of making necessary public improvements, cut down its tax ordinance from \$1,213,851 to \$1,371,006 (or \$42,845), by reducing the contingent account \$5,000, striking out the appropriations of \$1,000 for manual instruction and \$12,568 for the city's share of new sewers, and leaving out the amount of \$24,277, due the county, to be provided for by an issue of bonds.

Then began a campaign of intrigue having in view to establish the supremacy of the assessors and to whip the Board of Aldermen into complete submission; so that in the future the tax-dodging plutocracy of Paterson, acting through the Mayor and his appointees, might have the full control of the city's finances; no public service to be performed and no public improvement to be made, except to the extent and in the way approved by the said plutocracy, whose sacred members would, of course, be so assessed as to bear a constantly decreasing share of the public expenditure.

In this campaign the conspirators adopted tactics that were admirably fitted to their object. They did not undertake to deny, refute or even discuss the points made here against the methods of the assessors. This they could not do. Therefore they ignored the issue entirely. While admitting that they could not give facts and figures until the assessors had finished their work, yet they continued to boldly, brazenly assert that enough property could not be found, and they exercised upon this board, by means of private conferences with its individual members, all the pressure they could bring to bear, in order to compel it to abandon its position and to make a further enormous reduction in the city budget. It was important, mark you, to have this board act quickly, in the dark, that is, in advance of the returns of the assessors, so that any criticism to which the work of these appointees might subsequently be subjected should have no practical effect upon the accomplished fact of an ordinance passed by this board and signed by the Mayor. In other words, we had been told that in passing the first ordinance this board had acted prematurely. Now we were to be told that in passing a second ordinance we could not act too prematurely.

In the meantime, in order to create the impression that the wind of "public sentiment"—poor public sentiment!—was blowing their way, one of their officious organs, which styles itself the friend of the poor man, took up the plutocratic trumpet and gave a great blast. A certain tax-payer, who for some reason is not very popular among the working people—a man who is not my friend, although I am, perhaps, largely indebted to him, or rather to his unpopularity, for my first election to this body—a certain William Strange, I say, who pays taxes to the amount of \$6,000 instead of the \$15,000, or more, that he ought to pay if his property was correctly assessed, was held up to the public gaze as a benefactor of the people. Think of it! were we told; \$6,000 a year! \$500 a month! \$125 a week! \$20 a day! 80 cents an hour! 1 1/3 cents a minute! How could you ask such a liberal man, such a great philanthropist, to part in favor of the municipal treasury with a greater portion of the skin of his wage workers? Another benefactor was the Gas Company! Who pays the taxes of the Gas Company? At what price would it sell the franchise that the city gave it? There were other benefactors—a whole circus full of them. I spare you the list; it is ludicrously sickening.

At any rate the campaign of intrigue is coming to an end. A critical moment has been reached. A tax ordinance, made by the Mayor, or made to fit him and his assessors, is to be pressed upon this body before any one of its members can ascertain the extent to which the constitution, the law and equity among

taxpayers, have again been violated in the assessment of property. What are its features as compared with the ordinance which it is intended to supplement?

First of all, as a matter of course, the appropriation of \$25,000 for permanent street improvements is wiped out; for the Mayor must have his way, and the plutocratic scheme of bonding the city for such improvements as the wealthy alone are entitled to must be carried out. Let the "great unwashed," who can afford no improvements, go to—where they belong. No improvement is needed there. For the purpose in view, however—that is, for such improvements as will exclusively benefit the wealthy—it is not \$25,000, obtained by taxing in full those beneficiaries that the Mayor proposes to spend; it is \$50,000 or \$60,000 obtained by bonding the city, and the burden of which will bear most heavily upon those whose little property is assessed at a much higher rate than the property of the wealthy. It is even contemplated to continue this bonding process for the special object in view until it reaches \$200,000, and by that time more bonding may be authorized. How does all this agree with the Mayor's declaration, in his veto, that he was opposed to the increase of the municipal debt?

As to the rest of the so-called "cutting down," amounting to an additional sum of \$44,000, it is (with one single legitimate exception, which is, however, of little importance, and affects only the current year) a pure sham and false pretense. It is no cut at all. It is a mere postponement of payments which will have to be met next year, either by last raising the tax to a greater extent than it would have now to be raised or by increasing the bonded debt, floating notes, etc. And this is called finance! Pshaw! It is the merest kind of capitalist trickery.

Look at this in particular. By a trick that would be more creditable to the bookkeeping and creditor-dodging ingenuity of a bankrupt than to the administration of a great city, a deficiency of \$21,000 is created in the school appropriation; in consequence of which the payment of a portion of the salaries earned by the teachers this year shall have to be delayed until next year. In the meantime the other city servants, including his honor the Mayor, will promptly draw their own salaries. Now, if it is necessary for this great city to resort to such contemptible makeshifts, why don't the Mayor begin at home. I am a poor man, and think I earn by hard work every cent I get; and that is, probably, the reason why I am poor man; but I should first go without the small aldermanic stipend before I used my authority as an alderman to delay one minute the payment of a school teacher.

You now realize that in adopting the wasteful policy and contemptible makeshifts which, under the false name of "economy," the Mayor insists upon in order to assert his dominion and prolong the assessors' misconduct, this board not only cannot do away with the pending issue; but only cannot delay it; but can only precipitate it by spreading and intensifying the indignation which at last is beginning to be felt by a large number of citizens? The duty of this board is glaringly plain. Let it sternly refuse to do anything other than what it has already done until the assessors, not only of this city, but of this county, have been compelled to do their full duty, as traced out by the constitution and the law.

And why should this board hesitate? The City Counsel has told you right here that if the assessors were called before the proper tribunal they would not have an inch of legal ground to stand upon with their slippery boots. True, these men are full of bluff and bluster. According to a newspaper report, they had the audacity to say that "they would be justified in taking action against Alderman Maguire for his utterances." I said, and I repeat, that they have violated the constitution, the law and every principle of equity in their assessment of property; that in presuming to consider how much the city should spend and what the total amount of taxation should be, instead of considering simply what each piece and kind of property was actually worth, they have assumed over this board and over the people dictatorial powers which they do not now and shall never possess; and that in assessing certain properties at 60 per cent. or more, and other properties at 30 per cent. or less, of their actual value, they have followed not a straight but a crooked line in the performance of their functions. All this I said; all this I wrote in black ink on white paper; and while I have nothing to publish, I shall have much more to say, if, as I am credibly informed, they have this year increased the valuation of property of people of comparatively small means without correspondingly increasing the valuation of property of certain wealthy persons—all for the obvious purpose of destroying the effect of my exposures by alarming the small property owners, creating among them the false impression that higher assessments NECESSARILY meant higher taxes TO THEM, and therefore arraying them (and those still more numerous, who, propertyless, may be influenced by them), against justice, against their own interests, to the detriment of the city as a whole, and for the benefit of a few tax-dodgers. Now let them "take action." This may, after all, prove the best way of bringing to light many facts which would otherwise remain forever in obscurity. This may afford me the means, which I do not now possess, of dragging before the courts, as unwilling witnesses, the assessors, either privately or to subsidiary companies formed to acquire them or their own books in evidence, some of the tax-dodgers that the assessors claim to be unable to reach.

By all means let them "take action." But if they do not take action against me, I hope that you will at last take action against them. Don't make any mistake about the "public sentiment." The Directors consider that there will be no difficulty in leasing

## THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York,  
EVERY SUNDAY.

## TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS

Invariably in advance:

|                                    |        |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| One year.....                      | \$1.00 |
| Six months.....                    | .50    |
| Three months.....                  | .30    |
| Subscription Trial, one month..... | .10    |

As far as possible, rejected communications  
will be returned if so desired and stamps are  
enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New  
York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.

## TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

Those of our readers whose subscription  
have expired are requested to renew them by  
remitting the amount in cash or postage  
orders at their earliest convenience. They  
will thus avoid any hindrance in the delivery  
of their paper. Address: THE PEOPLE, 184  
William Street, New York.



## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

|                                   |               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| In 1888 (Presidential).....       | 2,068         |
| In 1890.....                      | 12,231        |
| In 1892 (Presidential).....       | 21,167        |
| In 1894.....                      | 33,123        |
| <b>In 1896 (Presidential)....</b> | <b>36,564</b> |

We shape ourselves the joy or fear  
Of what the coming life is made  
And fill our Future's atmosphere  
With sunshine or with shade.

The tissue of the Life to be  
We weave with colors all our own  
And in the field of Destiny  
We reap as we have sown.

Whittier.

## THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE.

With this issue we start the publication in English of one of Karl Marx' most profound and most brilliant monographs. It may be considered the best work extant on the philosophy of history, with an eye especially upon the history of the movement of the proletariat, together with the bourgeois and other manifestations that accompany the same, and the tactics that such conditions dictate.

The recent populist uprising; the more recent "Debs movement"; the thousand and one utopian and chimerical notions that are flaring up; the capitalist manœuvres; the hopeless, helpless grasping after straws, that marks the conduct of the bulk of organized labor; all of these, together with the empty-headed, fishy figures who are springing into notoriety for a time and have their day, mark the present period of the movement in the nation a critical one. The best information acquirable, the best mental training obtainable are requisite to steer through the existing chaos that the death-tainted social system of today creates all around us. To aid in this needed, information and mental training, this instructive work is now placed into the hands of our readers, and is commended to the serious study of the serious.

The teachings contained in this work are hung on an episode in recent French history. With some this fact may detract of its value. A pedantic, supercilious notion is extensively abroad among us that we are an "Anglo-Saxon" nation, and an equally pedantic, supercilious habit causes many to look to England for inspiration, as from a racial birthplace. Nevertheless, for weal of for woe, there is no such thing extant as "Anglo-Saxon," and, of all nations, said to be "Anglo-Saxon," in the United States least. What we have from England, much as appearances may seem to point the other way, is not of our bone-and-marrow, so to speak, but rather partakes of the nature of "importations." We are no more English on account of them than we are Chinese because we all drink tea.

Of all European nations, France is the one to which we come nearest. Besides its republican form of government, the directness of its history, the unity of its actions, the sharpness that marks its internal development, are all characteristics that find their parallel here best, and vice versa. In all essentials the study of modern French history, particularly when sketched by such a master-hand as Marx', is the most valuable one for the acquisition of that historic, social and biologic insight that our country stands particularly in need of, and that will be inestimable during the approaching critical days.

For the assistance of those of our readers, who, unfamiliar with the history of France, may be confused by some of the terms used by Marx, the following explanations may not be out of place.

On the 18th Brumaire (Nov. 9th), the post-revolutionary development of affairs in France enabled the first Napoleon to take a step that led with inevitable certainty to the imperial throne. The circumstance that fifty and odd years later similar events aided his nephew, Louis Napoleon, to take a similar step with a similar result, gives the name to this work—"The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon."

As to the other terms and allusions that occur, the following sketch will suffice:

Upon the overthrow of the first Napoleon came the restoration of the Bourbon throne (Louis XVIII and

Charles X). In July, 1830, an uprising of the upper tier of the bourgeoisie, or capitalist class—the aristocracy of finance—overthrew the Bourbon throne of Charles X and set up the throne of Orleans, a younger branch of the house of Bourbon, with Louis Philippe as king. From the month in which this revolution occurred, this monarchy is called the "July monarchy." In February, 1848, a revolt of the industrial bourgeoisie in turn dethroned Louis Philippe. This affair, also named from the month in which it took place, is the "February revolution." The "Eighteenth Brumaire" starts with that event.

Despite the inapplicability to our own affairs of the political names and political leaderships therein described, both these names and leaderships are to such an extent the products of an economic-social development that has here too taken place with even greater sharpness, and have their counterparts here so completely, that, by the light of this work of Marx, we are best enabled to understand our own history, to know whence we come, whither we are going, and how to conduct ourselves.

## IN THE FEAR OF GOD.

At the same time that the ex-cornerer of coffee, now masquerading as College President, Seth Low, accepts "in the star of G. I." the nomination for Mayor tendered to him by the class-conscious combine of capitalists in the "Citizens' Union," the Methodist Protestant minister, Rev. W. H. Wiley, has his mouth pucker up, "in the fear of God," by an injunction issued against him by Judge J. M. Hagan in West Virginia, enjoining him from preaching to the striking miners in the vicinity of Morgantown, in that State?

"In the fear of God, indeed!"

If but only all these metaphysical abstractions, that the fleeing class of the Low capitalists, together with their lackeys, the Hagan politicians, seek to stuff the people with, mystify them, and keep their thoughts away from the living, stern realities of life!—if the "Fear of God," "Patriotism," "National Honor," "Americanism," and scores of such metaphysical entities really had a living spirit, and these several spirits were one day to gather in mass meeting and materialize with a big stout club in their collective hands, what a wheezing sound would not there be heard in the air, as that club swang up, and what a howling and gnashing of teeth would not there go up from the capitalist crew of reprobates and their henchmen abroad, as that club came down upon their skulls and caved them in!

In the meantime, let the Seth Low capitalist combine and their political henchmen keep in unison at their "In-the-fear-of-God" game. It helps to bring home to the working class the fact of the unity of industry and politics, of the unity of the fleeces in the shop and his office-holding politician—from President, Congressman, Governor, Mayor, down to dog catcher; it helps to bring home to the working class the truth that it must fight at both ends of the line, that it can not save itself by fighting against the one while at the same time fighting for the other set, that IT MUST BOUNCE THEM BOTH.

It helps, finally, to teach the lesson, that once learned, will promptly cause that mass meeting, not of spectres, but of flesh and bones—the Proletariat of America—to convene and swing, not a spectral, but a sound hickory club, loaded with cannon balls, and consisting of the crushing Socialist Labor party ballot, over the skull of the capitalist class, and crushing, together with that bandit crew, its bandit system of Capitalism.

"In the fear of God," by all means.

## POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Johnston, R. L., "Beacon" is not mystified by "Americanism".

"If Socialism is foreign to the genius of American institutions and should be stamped upon by all patriotic people, then the same treatment must be meted out to Capitalism. Capitalism is the parent of Socialism. It is too late now to try to throttle the child. Socialism is here to stay and grow. It only can kill off Capitalism, and it has the under-taking well in hand."

The Pittsburgh, Pa., "Glass Budget" is in a positively happy frame of mind:

"Assurances have reached the friends of Joseph D. Troth, ex-president of the Green Bottle Blowers' Association, that he is to receive the appointment of postmaster in Millville, N. J. We are always glad to see a so-called labor leader get his reward from the party he has served so well and faithfully. We are assured that Mr. Troth has always been a hard-working Republican, and an influential leader in Millville politics. We are only sorry that there are so many hard-working Republicans who cannot be as nicely provided for."

"Joseph Grapewine, the ex-green blower of Massillon, who organized McKinley clubs last fall, has also been taken care of, and we are pleased to know will attend to some land office, with headquarters in Salt Lake City. We know Grapewine will feel at home and contented among the Mormons, among whom we think he is entitled to a seat among the elders. Now if we could only be assured that Louis Arrington was dead sure of some soft sit in Alton, and some of our Pittsburg labor fakirs were given a chance at the public crib we would be entirely happy."

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## PEPPER AND SALT.

PETER E. BURROWS.

The Anarchist demands the abolition of the central directing authority. Does the Anarchist know that that is already abolished?

It is now no longer what it once was, an organism looking after the business of the whole people; it has ceased to be that and has become an armed organization looking after the business interests of one class as against all the rest of the inhabitants.

Walk through the Senate chamber. Here the silver business has its desk room; there are the sugar desks; here leather sits and oil. What an accommodating chamber. And labor, where is labor? Oh, labor is squelched under the portly forms of those gentlemen. Rise, Mr. Hanna; lift up that cushion of yours and let us gather up the mangled remains of labor.

Why should our capitalistic newspaper noddles be fooling with their Anarchist friends? There are no defenders of the competitive system so able, fearless and logical as they. No such devout worshipper of "laissez faire" as the Anarchist, when he is at the right side of the tellers' window.

This evolution; where did it evolve from? Must this poor devil of a "homo" get back among Darwin's animals in order to qualify for Spencer's exam? Who will write a quiz for poor mankind that we may know what is required of us? We, too, want to survive, oh, ye little commercial rats! Won't you give us a straight tip?

Sickly sentimentalism must be in a very bad state of health by this time. The charity organization fell upon her some years ago and nearly killed her. Two late bishops have to my own knowledge publicly blackguarded the poor thing, and a little snip of philosopher out Chicago way, entitled Francis Dashwood Tandy, in his handbook of Anarchy, declares, in spite of her protracted sickness, that she is still "wide-spread." Let us hope this insinuation against her moral character will put an end to her. Socialists do not want her. I wish the old lady would die.

There are some other sickly old ladies for whose burial I am also devoutly exclaiming: Competition has been so long dead that, like Lazarus, she stinketh. Free America is still overground, though the carion crowds of capitalism have long ago pecked out its eyes, and their beaks are tapping against the bare bones. The Constitution, while on a visit to the Supreme Court, expired some time ago in the arms of her host. Isn't it sickly sentimentalism not to bury our dead?

The calm unemotional politico-economic philosopher says: Watch me explore without a throb this thing called human nature, or its fob, calm and unmoved his pockets I go through. But hark! What hand is this? Police? hallo! In fact human nature, under the name of Socialism, was just as calmly picking back the capitalist's pocket. Hence the racket. Isn't it a little sickly to listen to this fellow's twaddle about the calmness of his investigation and the cold scientificness of his method?

Socialism may be defined as the science which explains the present class struggle. As a thing, Socialism is that orderly society which shall survive the conflict and disorder of the present mobility. Socialism is the chain of social experience. Its first link was forged by the first sob of the first slave; its last will be in the end of human experience. Looking backward, Socialism is history. In the present it is explanation, education, agitation. In the future it is realization.

You supercilious scented blackguards who curse us from the hill of prosperity (like the devil's prophet, whose ass rebuked him) hear yet another rebuke from one of the asses. When you stand on the hill and sneer at those who have failed to get on in the world, think what the commercial world is, and what "getting on" in it calls for in meanness and fraud; and then say which are fittest to survive—those who fall in such an atmosphere of moral putridity or those who live on and unemployed—will remain the same.

"But," you may answer, "if non-

union men can be brought into the union we will be able to wrest a shorter workday and better conditions from our employers, and a shorter workday will enable more men to be employed."

That is a fruitless hope. The machine has appeared in your trade, and, as managed by the capitalist, it will do

there what it has done in weaving, in

shoemaking, in typesetting, and, as it

has already done in your own trade,

then seek work in union factories?

Would not the condition of your trade as a whole remain as before; there

would be about the same quantity of

work to be done, about the same number

of cigarmakers would be seeking em-

ployment, the same proportion only

would be able to obtain work, the same

proportion would have to remain idle.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

If you succeeded in stopping the sale

of non-union goods, would not the workers

then seek work in union factories?

Would not the condition of your trade

as a whole remain as before; there

would be about the same quantity of

work to be done, about the same number

of cigarmakers would be seeking em-

ployment, the same proportion only

would be able to obtain work, the same

proportion would have to remain idle.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

from the course you are pursuing, but we

wish to point out its insufficiency.

Now, we do not wish to dissuade you

# THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

By KARL MARX.

[Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

L.

Hegel says somewhere that all great historic facts and personages recur twice. He forgot to add: "Once as tragedy and then as farce." Caussidier from Danton, Louis Hiane for Robespierre, the "Mountain" of 1848-51 for the "Mountain" of 1793-95; the Nephew for the Uncle. The identical caricature marks also the conditions under which the second edition of the eighteenth of Brumaire is issued.

Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand. The tradition of all generations weighs like an alp upon the brain of the living. At the very time when men appear engaged in revolutionizing things and themselves, in bringing about what never was before, at such very epochs of revolutionary crises do they anxiously conjure up into their service the spirits of the past, assume their names, their battle cries, their costumes to enact a new historic scene in such time-honored disguise and with such borrowed language. Thus did Luther masquerade as the Apostle St. Paul; thus did the revolution of 1789-1814 drape itself alternately as Roman Republic and as Roman Empire; nor did the revolution of 1848 know what better to do than to parody at one time the year 1789, at another the revolutionary traditions of 1793-95. Thus does the beginner, who has acquired a new language, keep on translating it back into his mother tongue; only then has he grasped the spirit of the new language and is able freely to express himself in it when he moves in it without recollections of old, and has forgotten in its use his own hereditary tongue.

When these historic conjurations of the dead past are closely observed a striking difference is forthwith noticeable. Camille Desmoulins, Danton, Robespierre, St. Juste, Napoleon, the heroes as well as the partisans and the masses of the old French revolution, achieved in Roman costumes and with Roman phrases the task of their time: the emancipation and the establishment of modern bourgeois society. The ones knocked to pieces the old feudal groundwork and mowed off the feudal heads that had grown upon it; Napoleon brought about, within France, the conditions under which alone free competition could develop, the partitioned lands be exploited, the nation's unshackled powers of industrial production be utilized, while, beyond the French frontier, he swept away everywhere the establishments of feudalism, so far as requisite, to furnish the bourgeois social system of France with fit surroundings on the European continent and such as were in keeping with the times. Once the new social establishment was set on foot, the antediluvian giants vanished, and, along with them, the resuscitated Roman world—the Brutuses, Gracchi, Publicolas, the Tribunes, the Senators, and Caesar himself. In its sober reality, bourgeois society had produced its own true interpreters in the Ssays, Cousin, Royer-Collard, Benjamin Constant and Guizot, its real generals sat behind the shop counters, and the muton-head of Louis XVIII. was its political head. Wholly absorbed in the production of wealth and in the peaceful fight of competition, this society could no longer understand that the ghosts of the days of Rome had watched over its cradle. And yet, unheroic as is bourgeois society, it nevertheless had stood in need of heroism, of self-sacrifice, of terror, of civil war, and of bloody battle fields to bring it into the world. Its gladiators found in the stern classic traditions of the Roman republic the ideals and the art, the self-deceptions, that they needed in order to conceal from themselves the narrow bourgeois substance of their own struggles, and to keep up their passion at the height of a great historic tragedy. Thus, at another stage of development, a century before, did Cromwell and the English people draw from the Old Testament the language, passions and illustrations for their own bourgeois revolution. When the real goal was reached, Locke supplanted Habakuk.

Accordingly, the reviving of the dead in those revolutions served the purpose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old; it served the purpose of exaggerating to the imagination the given task, not to recoil before its practical solution; it served the purpose of rekindling the revolutionary spirit, not to trot out its ghost.

In 1848-51 only the ghost of the old revolution was about, from Marrast the "Républicain en gaunts jaunes," who disguised himself in old Bailli, down to the adventurer, who hid his repulsively trivial features under the iron death mask of Napoleon. A whole people, that imagines it has imparted to itself accelerated powers of motion through a revolution, suddenly finds itself transferred back to a dead epoch, and, lest there be any mistake possible on this head, the old dates turn up again, the old calendars; the old names; the old edicts, which long since had sunk to the level of the antiquarian's learning. Thus, at another stage of development, a century before, did Cromwell and the English people draw from the Old Testament the language, passions and illustrations for their own bourgeois revolution. When the real goal was reached, Locke supplanted Habakuk.

The social revolution of the nineteenth century can not draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot start upon its work before it has struck off all superstition concerning the past. Former revolutions required historic reminiscences in order to intoxicate themselves with their own issues. The revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead in order to reach its issue. With the former, the phrase surpasses the substance, with this one, the substance surpasses the phrase.

The February revolution was a surprise; old society was taken unawares; and the people proclaimed this political stroke a great historic act; whereby the new era was opened. On the 2d of December, the February revolution is jockeyed by the trick of a false player, and, what seems to be overthrown is no longer the monarchy, but the liberal concessions, which had been wrung from it by centuries of struggles. Instead of society itself having conquered a new point, only the State appears to have returned to its oldest form, to the simply brazen rule of the sword and the club. Thus, upon the "coup de main" of February, 1848, comes the response of the "coup de tête" of December, 1851. So won, so lost. Meanwhile, the interval did not go by unutilized. During the years 1848-1851, French society retrieved in abbreviated, because revolutionary, method the lessons and teachings, which—if it was to be more than a disturbance of the surface—should have preceded the February revolution, had it developed in regular order, by rule, so to say. Now French society seems to have receded behind its point of departure; in fact, however, it was compelled to first produce its own revolutionary point of departure, the situation, circumstances, conditions, under which alone the modern revolution is in earnest.

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward faster from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brilliant, ecstasy is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax speedily, then society relapses into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of feverish excitement. Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, such as those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; come back upon what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start over anew; score with cruel thoroughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first attempt; seem to throw down their adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth, and again to rise up against them in more gigantic stature; constantly recoil in fear before the undefined monster magnitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created that renders all retreat impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out:

Hic Rhodus, hic salta!

Here is the rose, now dance!

Every observer of average intelligence, even if he failed to follow step by step the course of French development, must have anticipated that an unheard-of scasco was in store for the revolution. It was enough to hear the self-satisfied yelpings of victory wherewith the Messieurs Democrats mutually congratulated one another upon the pardons of May 2d, 1852. Indeed, May 2d had become a fixed idea in their heads; it had become a dogma with them, something like the day on which Christ was to reappear and the Millennium to begin had become in the heads of the Chilasts. Weakness had, as it ever does, taken refuge in the wonderful; it believed the enemy was overcome if, in its imagination, it hocus-pocussed him away; and it lost all sense of the present in the imaginary apotheosis of the future, that was at hand, and of the deeds, that it had "in petto," but which it did not yet want to bring to the scratch. The heroes, who ever seek to refute their established incompetence by mutually bestowing their sympathy upon one another and by pulling together, had packed their satchels, taken their laurels in advance payments, and were just engaged in the work of getting discounted "in partibus," on the stock exchange, the republics for which, in the silence of their unassuming dispositions, they had carefully organized the government personnel. The 2d of December struck them like a bolt from a clear sky; and the peoples, who, in periods of timid despondency, gladly allow their hidden fears to be drowned by the loudest screamers, will perhaps have become convinced that the days are gone by when the cackling of geese could save the Capitol.

The constitution, the national assembly, the dynastic parties, the blue and the red republicans, the heroes from Africa, the thunder from the tribune, the flash-lightnings from the daily press, the whole literature, the political names and the intellectual celebrities, the civil and the criminal law, the "liberté, égalité, fraternité," together with the 2d of May, 1852—all vanished like a phantasmagoria before the ban of one man, whom his enemies themselves do not pronounce an adept at witchcraft. Universal suffrage seems to have survived only for a moment, to the end that, before the eyes of the whole world, it should make its own testament with its hands, and, in the name of the people, declare: "All that exists deserves to perish."

It is not enough to say, as the Frenchmen do, that their nation was taken by surprise. A nation, no more than a woman, is excused for the unguarded hour when the first adventurer who comes along can do violence to her. The silk-stockings republicans

riddle is not solved by such shifts, it is only formulated in other words. There remains to be explained how a nation of thirty-six millions can be surprised by three swindlers, and taken to prison without resistance.

Let us recapitulate in general outlines the phases which the French revolution of February 24, 1848, to December, 1851, ran through.

Three main periods are unmistakable:

First—The February period;

Second—The period of constituting the republic, or of the constitutional national assembly (May 4, 1848 to May 29, 1849);

Third—The period of the constitutional republic, or of the legislative national assembly (May 29, 1849, to December 2, 1851).

The first period, from February 24, or the downfall of Louis Philippe, to May 4, 1848, the date of the assembling of the constitutional assembly, the February period, proper, may be designated as the prologue of the revolution. It officially expressed its own character in this, that the government which it improvised declared itself "provisional;" and, like the government, everything that was broached, attempted or uttered, pronounced itself provisional. Nobody and nothing dared to assume the right of permanent existence and of an actual fact. All the elements that had prepared or determined the revolution—dynastic opposition, republican bourgeoisie, democratic-republican small traders' class, social-democratic labor element—all found "provisionally" their place in the February government.

It could not be otherwise. The February days contemplated originally a reform of the suffrage laws, whereby the area of the privileged ones among the property-holding class was to be extended, while the exclusive rule of the aristocracy of finance was to be overthrown. When, however, it came to a real conflict, when the people mounted the barricades, when the national guard stood passive, when the army offered no serious resistance, and the kingdom ran away, then the royal seemed self-understood. Each party interpreted it in its own sense. Won, arms in hand, by the proletariat, they put upon it the stamp of their own class, and proclaimed the SOCIAL REPUBLIC. Thus the general purpose of modern revolutions was indicated, a purpose, however, that stood in most singular contradiction to every thing that, with the material at hand, with the stage of enlightenment that the masses had reached, and under the existing circumstances and conditions, could be immediately used. On the other hand, the claims of all the other elements, that had co-operated in the revolution of February, were recognized by the lion's share that they received in the government. Hence, in no period do we find a more motley mixture of high-sounding phrases together with actual doubt and helplessness; of more enthusiastic reform aspirations, together with a more slavish adherence to the old routine; more seeming harmony permeating the whole of society together with a deeper alienation of its several elements. While the Parisian proletariat was still gloating over the sight of the great perspective, that had disclosed itself to their view, and was indulging in seriously meant discussions over the social problems, the old powers of society had grouped themselves, had gathered together, had deliberated and found an unexpected support in the mass of the nation—the peasants and small traders—all of whom threw themselves on a sudden upon the political stage, after the barriers of the July monarchy had fallen down.

The second period, from May 4, 1848, to the end of May, 1849, is the period of the constitution, of the founding of the bourgeois republic. Immediately after the February days, not only was the dynastic opposition surprised by the republicans, and the republicans by the Socialists, but all France was surprised by Paris. The national assembly, that met on May 4, 1848, to frame constitution, had come out of the elections of the nation; it represented the nation. It was a living protest against the assumption of the February days, and it was intended to bring the results of the revolution back to the bourgeois measure. In vain did the proletariat of Paris, which forthwith understood the character of this national assembly, endeavor, a few days after its meeting, on May 15, to deny its existence by force, to dissolve it, to disperse the organic apparition, in which the reacting spirit of the nation was threatening them, and thus reduce it back to its separate component parts. As is known, the 15th of May had no other result than that of removing Blanqui and his associates, i. e., the real leaders of the proletarian party, from the public scene for the whole period of the cycle which we are here considering.

Upon the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, only the bourgeois republic could follow; that is to say, a limited portion of the bourgeoisie, having ruled under the name of the king, now the whole bourgeoisie was to rule under the name of the people. The demands of the Parisian proletariat are utopian tomfooleries that have to be done away with. To this declaration of the constitutional national assembly, the Paris proletariat answers with the June insurrection, the most colossal event in the history of European civil wars. The bourgeois republic won. On its side stood the aristocracy of finance, the industrial bourgeoisie; the middle class; the small traders' class; the army, the slums, organized as Garde Mobile; the intellectual celebrities, the Parsons' class, and the rural population. On the side of the Parisian proletariat stood none but itself. Over 3,000 insurgents were massacred, after the victory 15,000 were transported without trial. With this defeat, the proletariat steps to the background on the revolutionary stage. It always seeks to crowd forward, so soon as the movement seems to acquire new impetus, but with ever weaker effort and ever smaller results. So soon as any of the above lying layers of society gets into revolutionary fermentation, it enters into alliance therewith and thus shares all the defeats which the several parties successively suffer. But these succeeding blows become ever weaker the more generally they are distributed over the whole surface of society. The more important leaders of the Proletariat, in its councils, and the press, fall one after another victims of the courts, and ever more questionable figures step to the front. IT PARTLY THROWS ITSELF UPON DOCTRINAIRE EXPERIMENTS, "CO-OPERATIVE BANKING" AND "LABOR EXCHANGE" SCHEMES, IN OTHER WORDS, IT GOES INTO MOVEMENTS, IN WHICH IT GIVES UP THE TASK OF REVOLUTIONIZING THE OLD WORLD WITH ITS OWN LARGE COLLECTIVE WEAPONS, AND, ON THE CONTRARY, SEEKS TO BRING ABOUT ITS EMANCIPATION, BEHIND THE BACK OF SOCIETY, IN PRIVATE WAYS, WITHIN THE NARROW BOUNDS OF ITS OWN CLASS CONDITIONS, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, INEVITABLY FAILS.

The proletariat seems to be able neither to find again the revolutionary magnitude within itself nor to draw new energy from the newly arisen conditions, until ALL THE CLASSES, with whom it contended in June, shall lie prostrate along with itself. But in all these defeats, the proletariat succumbs at least with the honor that attaches to great historic struggles; not France alone, all Europe trembles before the June earthquake, while the successive defeats inflicted upon the higher classes are bought so easily that they need the brazen exaggeration of the victorious party itself to be at all able to pass muster as an event; and these defeats become more disgraceful the further removed the defeated party stands from the proletariat.

True enough, the defeat of the June insurgents prepared, leveled the ground, upon which the bourgeois republic could be founded and erected; but it, at the same time, showed that there are in Europe other issues besides that of "Republic or Monarchy." It revealed the fact that here the BOURGEOIS REPUBLIC meant the unbridled despotism of one class over another. It proved that, with nations enjoying an older civilization, having developed class distinctions, modern conditions of production, an intellectual consciousness, wherein all traditions of old have been dissolved through the work of centuries, that with such countries the republic means only the POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY FORM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY, not its CONSERVATIVE FORM OF EXISTENCE, as is the case in the United States of America, where, true enough, the classes already exist, but have not yet acquired permanent character, are in constant flux and reflux, constantly changing their elements and yielding them up to one another; where the modern means of production, instead of coinciding with a stagnant population, rather supply the relative scarcity of heads and hands; and, finally, where the feverishly youthful life of material production, which has to appropriate a new world to itself, has so far left neither time nor opportunity to abolish the illusions of old.\*

All classes and parties joined hands in the June days in a "PARTY OF ORDER" against the class of the proletariat, which was designated as the "PARTY OF ANARCHY," of Socialism, of Communism. They claimed to have "saved" society against the "enemies of society." They gave out the slogans of the old social order—"Property, Family, Religion, Order"—as the pass-words for their army, and cried out to the counter-revolutionary crusaders: "In this sign thou wilt conquer!" From that moment on, so soon as any of the numerous parties, which had marshalled themselves under this sign against the June insurgents, tries, in turn, to take the revolutionary field in the interest of its own class, it goes down in its turn before the cry: "Property, Family, Religion, Order." Thus it happens that "society is saved" as often as the circle of its ruling class is narrowed, as often as a more exclusive interest asserts itself over the general. Every demand for the most simple bourgeois financial reform, for the most ordinary liberalism, for the most commonplace republicanism, for the flattest democracy, is forthwith punished as an "assault upon society," and is branded as "Socialism." Finally the High Priests of "Religion and Order" themselves are kicked off their tripods; are fetched out of their beds in the dark, hurried into patrol wagons, thrust into jail or sent into exile; their temple is razed to the ground, their mouths are sealed, their pen is broken, their law torn to pieces in the name of Religion, of Family, of Property, and of Order. Bourgeois, fanatic on the point of "Order," are shot down on their own balconies by drunken soldiers, forfeit their family property, and their houses are bombarded for pasture—all in the name of Property, of Family, of Religion, and of Order. Finally the refuse of bourgeois society constitutes the "holy phalanx of Order," and the hero Crapulinsky makes his entry into the Tuilleries as the "Savior of Society."

(To be continued.)

\* This was written at the beginning of 1852.

## ON THE BREACH.

(Continued from Page 1)

Don't imagine that any officious organ has it any longer in its power to discredit an equitable measure by merely calling it Socialistic. I have told you before that if Socialism was in power its representatives would not concern themselves with taxation, because there would be no occasion, under Socialism, for the levying of any taxes whatever. In the meantime, however, its representatives are tireless in exposing and denouncing the inequalities brought about by the present system; and they find a more and more responsive chord in the hearts of the people. You have heard, probably, of what is going on in a neighboring State. You have heard, first, of Westchester County, then of

Putnam, then of Suffolk, all in the State of New York. Let me tell you how this happened. Last fall, a prominent Socialist of New York City ran for Congress in a district which included Westchester County. In an address to the voters, 40,000 copies of which were distributed in that county, he illustrated the tendencies of the present system by giving local figures which showed the monstrous inequalities of taxation. He was not elected, but the assessors were indicted. A mighty change of policy immediately followed. In the wake of Westchester soon came Putnam and Suffolk Counties. The wave will not stop until it has reached the State of New Jersey and many other States; it will not stop until it has reached the remotest corner of this country; and then it will not stop at taxation either.

## PARTISAN POLITICS.

In the last two issues of THE PEOPLE we republished successively two significant articles, on the Social Question in connection with trade unionism, the principal significance of which lay in their appearance in the "Typographical Journal." Here is a third article on the same lines, which, to its own intrinsic merit, adds the merit of appearing in the same journal of the 16th instant. It is written by Comrade M. S. Hayes, of Cleveland, O., and is felicitously headed:

"The Acceptance of Party Favors Begets Forgetfulness of Unionism—An Invitation to Join a Class-Conscious Political Movement."

The occasion for this article was the following:

In Ohio the printers, pressmen and bookbinders have a State union. Some weeks ago at their annual convention a resolution was passed prohibiting political discussions, as well as the indorsement of political candidates unless those candidates happen to be members of the aforesaid union, and then there was passed a second resolution thanking the capitalist Governor Bushnell for having appointed a printer named Drake to a position as clerk in one of the State offices, said Drake having used in the previous campaign what influence he had to get other union men to vote the capitalist Republican party into power.

The Cleveland "Citizen" thereupon advised the local unions of Cleveland not to affiliate with the State union until it could demonstrate that it was "worthy of the confidence of honest and progressive union men." This attitude of the "Citizen" was not pleasant to W. W. Griffey, the Secretary of the State union, so he wrote to the "Typographical Journal" criticizing the position taken by the "Citizen." In the next issue of the "Journal," Robert Bandlow, manager of the "Citizen," replied to the critic, which reply we published last week. In the current issue of the "Journal" Max S. Hayes, editor of the "Citizen," has this to say:

Permit me to briefly reply to Secretary W. W. Griffey, of the Ohio State Union, which organization I confess to having criticized in a recent issue of the "Citizen." Brother Griffey can see no inconsistency in adopting a resolution tabooing all political action and then indorsing a member of a subordinate union for an office, to be followed by profusely thanking a capitalistic politician for the appointment. Let us assume that all the other delegates to the State union, besides Mr. Drake, had office been buzzing in their bonnets, what would be the result? There would be pulling and hauling to such an extent that the organization would be disrupted.

The Ohio Trades Assembly went to pieces in just that manner; so did the Cleveland Trades Assembly and scores of other central bodies throughout the country.

Why should a printer be indorsed and not a molder or cigarmaker? But the fact remains that when a man gets into office he forgets his unionism. He is ambitious; he stands by his party; he defends or apologizes for its most perfidious acts. The enactment of oppressive laws, the calling out of the militia to shoot down strikers, the issuing of blanket injunctions to smash strikers, still finds the office-holding union man identified with his Democratic or Republican party, whichever happens to be responsible.

Truly, I assisted in organizing the State union, and when Brother Griffey declares that politics was barred out at the beginning he is unacquainted with the facts. Your humble servant introduced the American Federation of Labor platform containing the famous plank 10, declaring that "collective ownership of the means of production and distribution," which, after a spirited discussion, during which Republicans and Democrats alike expressed their readiness to join a labor party, was adopted by a good majority and referred to local unions.

The "Citizen" is indeed "in favor of political action by the State union—providing such action be in favor of the Socialist party, but not otherwise." I claim it is the duty of union men to join the class-conscious Socialist Labor party. At present our unions are class organizations—composed of workingmen whose interests are identical, who constantly aim to wrest concessions from the capitalistic class. The latter class is thoroughly conscious of its interests, which always clash with our interests, and controls both old parties, and, consequently, all political power. Having but an economic class combination, we, as workers, are like a one-armed man, and, therefore, the Socialist holds that we are at a disadvantage and must adopt the tactics of our opponents and use two arms—strike upon the political as well as the industrial field, and through a workingmen's party.

We must follow in the footsteps of our brothers across the sea, where the labor unions are Socialistic, where they understand the basic principles of trades unionism. The day of non-political labor organizations is drawing to a close. The rapid concentration of capital, where individuals and companies are swallowed by huge trusts, the introduction of marvelous labor-saving machinery, the growth of the unemployed army, the startling increase of crime, insanity, prostitution, divorce, etc., all due to the development of the competitive system, and which the old political parties will not consider—these cold facts are educating the working class; are showing those who produce all and have nothing the injustice of the present planless economic system; and, no matter how Mr. Griffey or I or any other person may like it, or may think, say or do, Socialism is growing like a prairie fire, and in a few years this dog-eat-dog commercialism will be swept out of existence. The greed of capitalism is choking the monster to death.

In conclusion, I invite Brother Griffey to also join

**Labor saved by using the  
DIAMOND POINT GOLD FOUNTAIN PEN  
FREE!**

For a short while.

FREE!

DIAMOND POINT

We will send it free to anyone sending us three yearly subscriptions at one dollar each. Will you take advantage of this unprecedented offer? Get a new yearly subscriber this, next and the following week, then send us \$3.00 and the pen is yours.

Address all letters and money orders to THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York City.

**PARTY NEWS.**

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary M. Hayes, 115 Champion St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

At the meeting held September 7th Comrade Furman presided. The financial report for the week ending September 4th showed receipts to the amount of \$7.49; expenditures, \$37.07; deficit, \$29.58. Favorable reports were received from the organizers and also from the Pennsylvania State Committee.

Section Peoria No. 2 reports that the old charter cannot be found, and it was decided to grant them a new one. Charters were also granted to new Sections in Medford, Okla., and Anderson, Ind.

Upon application, the name of Section organized some weeks ago at Tarentum, Pa., is changed to Section Arnold, Pa.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party and all Friends of the Cause.

Comrades:—The party's agitation previous to election requires ever larger means, and the regular income of the National Executive Committee is insufficient to cover the ever growing expenditures, the less so since, owing to the fact that most States are themselves engaged in an electoral battle, our receipts are seriously impaired.

In those States where the organization is as yet weak, aid must be given by the Executive Committee, the agitation must be maintained and the field worked for it seems exceptionally promising this year.

To obtain the means for this purpose, the Executive Committee has decided to open in the columns of the party organs a subscription for a "General Agitation Fund," and thus enable not only the party selections, but all friends of the cause to contribute their mite. The amounts received will be acknowledged each week in the party organs. There are not many weeks between now and the election; he who wants to give, let him give soon.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

Chas. H. Matchett, Brooklyn, N. Y. \$1.00

For a Starter. 1.00

Jean Heurt, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00

Total ..... \$3.00

MICHIGAN.

DETROIT, Mich., August 31st.—Section Detroit had a well attended meeting last evening. The organizer, Comrade M. Meyer, reported that he had visited Grand Rapids and met some of the old Section members. A meeting had been arranged for in the Turn Hall, and Meyer was to have a debate with an Anarchist. When the debate was ended all present agreed with Comrade Meyer that the true class-conscious movement was the Socialist movement, and that only on the lines of the Socialist Labor party. Meyer stated that the movement would not have been so far behind in Grand Rapids had it not been for one Braunschweig, an Anarchist, sent there a number of times to agitate from Chicago, and that Braunschweig had influenced the Grand Rapids Comrades to abandon the Socialist Labor party.

Another meeting will be advertised in Grand Rapids in a short time, and a reorganization of that Section will be completed.

The Section decided that as it could not very well establish a local paper and be sure of making a success of such an enterprise at the present time, that it would make an effort to boom our official organs.

Copies of THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts" will be distributed at our open air meetings, and the speakers will solicit subscriptions, as well as other Comrades. It is to be hoped that a great deal may be done for our press in this manner, and it is also the only correct method to work up a good sound local movement.

A City Campaign Committee was elected, consisting of Comrades Gutzander, Max Meyer, Richter, Klein-dienst and Schneek. This committee will take charge of the campaign at once. The campaign has really been on for the past two or three months, and we have held open air meetings every week on the Campus Martius, and in every instance the meetings were successful. The crowds of people that come to listen to the gospel of Socialism grow larger from week to week.

Comrade Krumroy, of Cleveland, was with us Saturday, and made a splendid address to the crowd on the Campus.

Our local speakers are devoting all their ability and energy to the fight at the open air meetings, and "there will be a hot time in the old town" in the near future. The speakers at these meetings are Comrades Meiko Meyer, S. Klein-dienst and William Schneek.

The ward clubs will commence open air agitation this week, and all Detroit Comrades should make it their duty to attend these meetings, as they can be a great help to the speakers. The 9th Ward Club will meet every Thursday at Joseph Goik's Hall, corner of Hale and Chené streets. Fraternally,

WILLIAM SCHNECK.

New York.

The next meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., will be held on Saturday, September 11th, 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Delegates should not fail to be present.

L. ABELSON, Organizer,  
Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

# THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to September 8th, 1897.

\$4,565.

The following amounts have been paid down to September 7th, Incl.: Previously acknowledged.

A. V. Heyman, Lincoln, Neb. \$5; Carter Hansen, St. Paul, Minn. \$10; American Otto Steidle, Providence, R. I. \$5.

Section, Elizabeth, N. J. \$5; Emil Fr. Kirchner, Jr., City, \$1; G. Z., Philadelphia, Pa. \$5.

101.00 Total: \$1951.90

Funders will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

184 William St., N. Y.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY —OF THE— UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

### PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-affirms the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of polities, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

### RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

22. The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

### BOSTON, MASS.

The People is for sale at the following stores:

Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.  
Cohen's Book Store, Washington St. on the Bridge.

Crossdall's Store, Harrison Avenue, near Avenue A.

New Haven, Conn.

Comrade F. Serr, 21 Nash street, is now agent for THE PEOPLE. Make your payments to him.

Total ..... \$1,777.43

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

### BROOKLYN

## LABOR LYCEUM,

940-955 Willoughby Av.

(Formerly 81-82 Myrtle Street.)

Meeting Rooms. Large Hall for Mass Meetings.

Books open for Balls and Pic-Nic.

Workmen! Patronize Your Own Home!

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

United Journeyman Tailors Union of U. S.  
Second Grand Conference Meeting.  
Owing to the success of our last meeting, a second meeting will be held on Sept. 12, 1897, at TRUSS ASSEMBLY ROOMS, 3d Av. & 16th St.  
A third meeting on September 13th at the same place.

All Custom Tailors should attend and make this meeting a still greater success.

THE COMMITTEE.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not use such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Bahns Club (Musicians Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m. 2d floor, 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Contributions are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bolin, 64 East 4th street.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 80. Office and Executive Bureau: 64 East 4th street—District I (German), at 21st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 21st street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, at 21st street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 12th and Avenue A.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

Secretary: HENRY ZINKE.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 285 Bowery, 2d floor, Hall, at 10 o'clock. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 8 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1096, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters: 12 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 8 p. m. at 12th floor, Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Wolf, corr. Secy., Residence, 173 E. 4th St. 2d fl.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 3 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schulz's Hall, 231-233 East 2d street, New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARKETAKEN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th Street, A. D., 1st fl., R. Cor. of 3d Av. and 14th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 3d and 4th Tuesdays every month at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organ